173 If the Dyak account of their migration could be relied upon, it still gives us no help to trace them beyond the island of Borneo. They unanimously affirm that their forefathers removed here (*i. e.* the lower part and mouth of the Batang Lupar) from the very source of the Batang Lupar or main river. Let it be assumed as probable that their migration, which possibly took place about four or five centuries ago, began from the Dutch part of Borneo.

101 The Sea Dyaks consist of several tribes, and
197 which are the following, *viz*:—Batang Rajang, Ulu Ai, Saribas, Sebuyau, Balau, Batang Ai, Undup, Skrang, Lemanak, Kumpang, Engkerbang, Kanowit, Katibas. If these tribes are subdivided again, they will number five times as many. Although they are divided into various tribes, yet they speak only one language, and this is the Malayan language. It is a significant fact that the Malayan language is the mother language of various tribes of people. Each tribe adopts its own idioms and pronunciations, and adds foreign words to its language to enrich it. Anyone who is not thoroughly conversant with the Malay and the Sea Dyak languages would find it difficult to detect their identity. The differences of tones and pronunciation to which each tribe has habituated itself would at first not be noticed by a stranger who would find it impossible to distinguish the language of one tribe from another.

192 The Sea Dyak language is similar to other languages which have grown rich in their vocabularies as

192 the people have come in contact with foreigners and adopted various words. The Malayan language has adopted many Sanscrit words which were introduced during the Majapait rule. According to the
[173] legend, a son of the royal house of Modyopahit founded in the fourteenth century a Hindu dynasty which reckoned thirteen princes down to Pangeran Samatra, the first Islam ruler; the daughter of Pangeran Samatra was married to a Dyak, who became the founder of a new dynasty. It has adopted many Arabic words which date from the Malay conversion to Mahomed's faith. But the adoption of the Sanscrit words into the Malayan is prior to the Arabic. As Sanscrit words are found in the Sea Dyak language it seems almost certain that, once upon a time, the Sea Dyaks inhabited the Malayan peninsula. Since the migration of the Dyaks into this island they have adopted many Kayan words.

[197] The Malays before their conversion to Mahomed-
212 anism may be presumed to have had no letters of their own. What they have now are made up out of the Arabic alphabet. To suit the tone of their language the letters are named accordingly. With reference to the Sea Dyaks, since the gospel of Christ has been preached to them, letters of the Roman character are used and pronounced accordingly to suit the tones of their pronunciation.

194 It is difficult to judge between the two languages (Malay and Dyak) as to which is the richer and more expressive. Both languages claim classical forms. When the Malay language is spoken grammatically, it is not only very expressive but exceedingly musical. It is the same with the language of the Sea Dyaks.

173 The Sea Dyaks themselves affirm that they have descended from one family, which they can prove by
[153] their genealogy. Some of them are extraordinarily gifted with retentive memories. Although we allow a limited amount of credit to traditions, yet we must admit that there were facts upon which their stories are founded.

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Summary of Tusut and other data to date.

173 As far back to the days of Sengalang Burong, great hero of the Sea Dayaks, these people had lived along the Kapuas and its tributaries in South-east (now Indonesian) Borneo (see Genealogy I). His grandson Surong Gunting was said to live somewhere on the Tiang Laju Range, between the upper Marup and Undup headwaters on the west side of the central watershed (now in Sarawak).

173 101 All the Sea Dayaks, being the descendants of Sengalang Burong, have broadly the same language and custom. On the other hand the Land Dayaks (such as Selakau, Rara, Remun, Dempu, Singgai, Kuap and others) are in a different category from the Sea Dayaks. The Land Dayaks do not celebrate the "Gawai Burong" (bird) festival, due to the fact they are *not* the descendants of Sengalang Burong, the founder of the cult. They speak another language.

173 167 While Surong Gunting was still living in Merakai (one of the tributaries of the Kapuas) before he migrated west to Tiang Laju, he held a historic conference to organize the migration routes to Batang Ai (see Genealogies I and II.)

It was from Merakai that an ancestor, Kajup, was ordered (by Surong Gunting) to lead his followers to migrate and settle in the Undup River, whose mouth is just above Simanggang. Next to him another, Jelian, moved from Merakai to the Undup and lived at Wong Tempangu. From this village Jelian married a woman named Tiong, daughter of the famous Kantu chief.

A few years later another chief named Gelungan came out of Merakai, to lead his followers to live in Undup; but later he moved again with his people to live at Balau Hill, not far below the present town of Simanggang. Because Balau Hill was the first settlement where those people lived, they call themselves "Balau Dayak" to this day. In the same manner, those who inhabited the Undup River call themselves "Undup Dayak".

While living at Balau Hill, Gelungan married a woman named Sendi; and soon after this marriage he left his original followers, and moved to Balu Sebuyau, a branch of the Batang Lupar, near

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its mouth. As they were living here these people, however, got a new name for themselves and are known today as "Sebuyau Dayak". 173 167

Eventually, after the death of the chief, Gelungan, a new generation arose and migrated to Lundu, Samarahan and Meredang Gayam. But because they were of Sebuyau origin, they still regard themselves as "Sebuyau Dayak" to this day; often they stress they are *quite* unlike other Sea Dayaks (which is not true).

Having been widowed by Gelungan, Sendi re-married a Skrang chief named Guang. It was said that this marriage was inspired in a dream, by a spirit. The spirit told them that if they married, their descendants after them would become great and wealthy. When Sendi came to live with Guang she brought with her seven male and seven female slaves, just to show that she was a woman of authority.

Now, from Tiang Laju mountain, after the death of Surong Gunting, his people moved to upper Marup, near the town of Engkilili. Then, from upper Marup, a chief named Ambau moved to build a longhouse at Pengkalan Tabau in the Batang Ai.

The other migration leaders were men like Lanong, who led his people to build their longhouse at Rantau Langkong; Gunggu, who lived with his people at Meriyu, below the Engkilili station. One of the most famous Chiefs, named Kanyong, whose nickname was "Gendang Ketebong", led his people to build a very commanding longhouse at Merarang Cape on the midway from Engkilili to Lubok Antu. From this longhouse of Kanyong originated the Sea Dayak custom known as *"Pati Nyawa"* which means compensation (see later) is now incorporated in colony law. It so happened, at that time, that some of the followers of Semalanjat of Bungkap went out to the jungle to hunt; and one of them was accidently killed by the followers of Kanyong. Due to this killing, Semalanjat was furious; he planned an attack against Kanyong and his people. On hearing this, Kanyong invited other chiefs such as Kajup of Undup, Ambau of Pangkalan Tabau and Medan of Sengkarong Langkang, to help defend his house at Merarang Cape. Being a diplomatic man, Meringai of Skrang came down to see them immediately, with the intention of settling their problem amicably. Thus the proposed

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attack was successfully avoided and an agreement was reached that, in case of death due to accident, the guilty party had to pay compensation to the injured party. Here, then, began a very important custom of compensation, *"Pati Nyawa"*, among the Sea Dayak. It has saved thousands of lives in vengeance.

Another ancestor, named Medan, led his people to live at Meruan Sengkarong Langkang, not far below the mouth of Lemanak in the Batang Ai. A chief named Semalanjat left Tiang Laju mountain with his people to live at Bungkap. In the meeting before their separation it was decided that each chief should go his own way and not meddle with the other's internal affairs, except to render any possible aid at the time of war against enemies. The only important enemies of these people (in those days) were the Kantu and Bugau people in the Indonesian territory. The enmity was originally started in the days of Sarapoh, a cousin of Sengalang Burong himself.

In those days Dayaks were beginning to be padi planters. *In addition*, they planted yams, tapioca and other crops, now seldom found in the present generation. They had no festivals other than Birds, Stones and "Gawai Antu", the festival for the spirits.

* * * * *

From Batang Ai a chief name Meringai led another party to migrate to Skrang River, while one of his fellow chiefs named Manggi migrated into Tisak, a tributary of Skrang, and settled there. Manggi was a very brave man, soon enobled with nickname "Engkeratong Gendang". When he was living here, it happened that his daughter fell sick. He sent two of his men to invite Manang Jelapi, a Balau wizard from Stirau, to doctor her. When Manang Jelapi arrived, Manggi swore that if his daughter could be cured, he would not hesitate to consent to her marrying Jelapi's son. Hearing this, Manang Jelapi was very pleased; and he started to perform his witch-craft to cure the sick girl. Fortunately, next day she was well again. Before he returned home, Jelapi enquired from Manggi when he should come again to talk over the proposed marriage between their children. Manggi denied he knew of any such proposal. Jelapi declared that Manggi really *did* make a promise to the effect that he would consent to his daughter's marriage to Jelapi's son if he (Jelapi) could cure her from illness. But Manggi violently denied this and swore he had

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never mentioned such a thing. After long argument, Jelapi was very angry; he returned home ashamed and furious. 173

A week later, this same girl was taken ill again. Manggi suspected that her soul must have been stolen by Jelapi, in his wroth. Eventually the girl died. In his grief over his daughter's death, Manggi arranged for two of his men to go to Stirau and persuade Jelapi to come over. "If he refuses," said Manggi, "snatch away his medicine box (*lupong*) by force; then, if he follows you, kill him as revenge for my daughter's death".

Two of his men went out accordingly. They reached Stirau. One of them went up to Jelapi's house, while the other waited at the landing stage. On his arrival at Jelapi's house, the man told Jelapi that he was sent by Manggi to fetch him to cure his daughter, who was ill again. Jelapi refused to go—since, he, Manggi did not keep his promise. He could not be persuaded; he was afraid of being deceived twice.

Following Manggi's instructions, his man snatched up Jelapi's medicine box and ran off with it. Jelapi followed him, running behind; and while passing the other man, hiding at the landing stage, he was attacked and killed instantly. Immediately Jelapi died, the horizon turned dark and the wind blew fierce over the land, followed by a great storm. Jelapi's body was miraculuously transformed into a huge boulder, known as "Batu Jelapi", situated at Stirau in the Batang Lupar River.

After the death of his daughter, Manggi moved again, and had his house built in the middle reaches of the Tisak. In Tisak river there were (and still are) plenty of big "tapah" (carp) fish. So Manggi and his people habitually made fish traps for them. One morning, as Manggi came down to examine the catch, he found one of his traps had caught two huge fish; these he brought home with him. 173 167

While he was opening the belly of one fish he discovered three beautiful plates, which he kept—they remain in the possession of his descendants to this day. It is said that if a male child is to be born in this family, he must be given his first bath from one of these sacred plates. Thence he moved up the Tisak and finally went down the Meludam River. From the Meludam he

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173 167 went up the Saribas and built a temporary house at Semaruang, then removed to live at Supa. Before he completed building his house at Supa, he heard that the Rimbas region was full of Serus (pre-Dayaks) who occasionally invaded the Paku and Layar Dayaks in the upper Saribas. In order to negotiate the Serus peacefully, he went overland to Rimbas; but when he reached Debak, unfortunately, he was taken ill and died. His body was buried at Debak. Because Manggi was buried there, this cemetry is known to this day as his.

173 After his death the house which he left half-built at Supa was deserted by his followers; consequently this place is called "Burok Rumah" (rotten house) to this day.

[167] There was another chief, named Magal (whose nickname was "Begagah Lubok Medang"), who left Skrang in company with his followers to live at a place called Blai Paku Mati. While he was living here it happened that some of his people went out to catch Argus Pheasants. When they had caught one, they brought it home to kill it; then put it on the winnower basket to dress it. While they left it, to fetch their knives for dressing it, the bird suddenly made an unhappy lowtoned sound "*ngembau*". Upon hearing this they looked at it closely and found a small knife stuck in its throat. This knife they picked out and kept; and at the same time thought that it must have been given by the goddesses Kumang and Indai Abang respectively—so that any women who used it would become expert blanket and cloth weavers, as well as clever mat-makers.

The meat of the Argus Pheasant was afterwards cooked; and those who participated in eating it were therefore cursed (*tau tepang*). These cursed persons were possessed with evil tongues. Being so, their descendants, through to the present day, are hardly able to marry others, who regarded and regard them still as under this dreadful curse.

Another famous ancestor, named Chaong, lived in the Skrang and had a longhouse with his followers at the tip of Lipat Cape. After his death, his son Tindin was installed as his successor. Tindin was brave, energetic and reportedly good at administering the affairs of his people. When he was living at Lipat, Tindin dreamed that he was met by a goddess Indai Kumang, who gave

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him charms so that he could always be successful in wars; she also swore to him that seven of his future descendants would become leaders of war. Not long afterwards Tindin moved from Lipat up the Enteban river, to clear the virgin jungle for the everlasting possession of his people.

From upper Enteban he explored the Layar and Padeh regions in Saribas (Sarawak, 2nd Division). These districts had long been the homes of aboriginals, such as the nomadic Punans and the Bukitans, just as the Rimbas and Krian were peopled by Serus—all people living here long before the Dayaks moved west.

* * * * *

Hearing that Paku region was a very fertile land but the home of the Bukitan, Tindin declared war on them. Entingi, a Bukitan chief, heard news of this and called his people to an urgent meeting, seeking their opinion whether to defend themselves in their own country or to seek the enemy in enemy country. In the end they thought it best not to fight in their own territory; for they feared lest, in case of defeat, the lives of their women and children would be in danger. So Entingi agreed to lead them to seek the invaders in their territory.

As he felt sure that Tindin would lead his invading troops by the route from the upper Enteban across the Padeh and down the Geraji, towards Layar river, Entingi led his men from Paku towards Enteban, in order to attack Tindin on the way. But as they reached the Tinting Kayu Ukir (Empelai Tinggi Bandir Range) the two opposing troops unexpectedly met—and here they fought. They fought hard. Neither side showed a will to surrender. Meanwhile, Entingi called Tindin by the Bukitan word *isan*, which meant cousin in the Dayak language. "Why do you called me *isan*," replied Tindin, "have you any son?" "Yes, I have a son," said Entingi. "Now let us sit down," said Entingi, "to try and resolve our misunderstanding peacefully." Tindin was glad at hearing these gracious words from the headman of his enemy; he agreed to end the fighting, in order to reason out their quarrel.

Tindin then declared it would be wise and proper if Entingi, who claimed he had a son, at once agreed to a marriage between

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173 this son and Tindin's own daughter, in order that peace could be restored between the Dayak and Bukitan. "But", he said, "the marriage can only be approved (as far as my side is concerned), if your side agree to pay me a compensation known as *drian palit mata*, for the purpose of abolishing racial enmity between us."

Entingi promptly agreed; he furthermore claimed that he had no malice in his heart, neither had he any territorial ambition other than to defend the life of his people against the invading *Iban*. Eventually it was here that the Sea Dayaks were first called Iban *by the Bukitan*, due to the fact that they were pushing other races out and taking all into their possession.

Entingi furthermore assured Tindin that before long he would pay the *drian palit mata* as claimed—so that his son, Demong, could be allowed to make Rinda, Tindin's daughter, his legal wife.

In his further claim Tindin thought it would be proper for him to ask for a padi-bin full of new heads plus a brass gong be presented to him as a mark that he was not just an ordinary chief, but one of extraordinary authority who had the right to claim for dowry *drian* according to the tradition founded by Serapoh.

At the conclusion of their negotiations Entingi said that he agreed to all this; at the same time, he thought it would be proper to invite Tindin to come over with him to Paku, to see for himself the beauty and fertility of that district. The eager Tindin at once consented and took some of his leading warriors with him. In Paku, Entingi took Tindin round the district and eventually brought him to meet another Bukitan chief named Entigu, who then lived at the mouth of Gelu Penuan.

On this visit Tindin found that Entigu and his people were widely different in a variety of ways from Entingi's people. Entigu and his people were not "Bukitan Kampong" who did regularly farm, as did Entingi and his people. Before they moved away towards Julau and the Rejang, these Bukitans, under the leadership of Entigu, had twice suffered from the attacks of severe and sweeping "sakit puru" epidemic (smallpox). A third group was under chief Agam at the mouth of Gelu Penuan.

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Also it was said that Bangkit's village at the mouth of Kasai stream had once undergone an attack of this deadly epidemic, until no one remained alive to bury the others. The site of this settlement to this day is known as "Pulau Bangkit".

This was because the ancient Bukitan did not bury corpses under the ground. There are plenty of sacred places known as "Taju Bukitan" in Paku river to this day. These places are not to be burnt; neither would anyone dare farm, which makes them remain *pulau mali* (forbidden islets).

After Tindin had seen the width and length and fertility of the land, he told Entingi he was attracted and would like to migrate there, if Entingi would permit him and his followers to do so. Entingi assured him he would, if he agreed to this marriage of daughter to son. "Should we be made kin through such a marriage, then in future this country will become the everlasting inheritance of our children", said Entingi. Tindin said that he would, provided that Entingi would pay him the dowry as claimed and finally agree to let him and his people migrate after the marriage had been celebrated.

When all these things had been fully discussed, Tindin asked for further presents, as a token of this first marriage between Sea Dayak and Bukitan:—

> One brass canon. One blowpipe. One native hat known as *"tanggoi seraong"*, favouritely worn by the Dayak noble women of the old days.

These things were claimed by Tindin, in order to show that he was a man of rank who heartily consented to marriage of his only daughter, Rinda, to Demong the son of Entingi the (more lowly) Bukitan chief. Entingi agree to give all as claimed; a month later, after he had supplied the dowry, including a great number of human heads, a grand marriage feast was celebrated in the bride's house, at the mouth of the Enteban in the Skrang River. Following the customary manner of Sea Dayak marriage, the bridegroom's parents and their people had to come over to fetch the bride at her house. This was followed later by the customary visits known as *ngundang pinang*, paid by the newly married couple, who, in this particular case, were married and stayed in the bride's house, then had to go to the bridegroom's.

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173 A year later Rinda gave birth to her eldest male child followed by four more (cf. Genealogy II):

Rinda (*f*) X Demong..... Kalanang, Kelimbang,
(Dayak) (Bukitan) Bundak, Jawai (*f*),
and Bakak.

173 766 Unfortunately, Jawai, Demong's only daughter, died when she was about fifteen years of age. But, because she was of noble birth, her body was *not* buried in the ordinary Sea Dayak way (in the ground). Instead the corpse was respectfully kept in a coffin. This coffin was not buried, but closed and put on a platform raised about six feet from the ground, to await the decomposition of the flesh. This method of preserving the dead of the noble families, as well as the place of preserving them, was known as *lumbong*. The site of Jawai's *lumbong* is still known, though such practices nowadays have been abandoned, just as their orginators, the Bukitans, have disappeared.

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173 167 Turn to Tindin again. He came with his Dayak followers by boat from Skrang to Paku. On his arrival he first settled at a place called Penggan, afterwards moved to Melanyut Cape, where he died of old age and was greatly mourned by both the Sea Dayaks and the Bukitans.

After Tindin's death his people multiplied rapidly, while on the other hand the Bukitans decreased—partly because of the regular epidemics and partly due to Dayak migration from upper Paku towards Julau and upper Rejang by Entigu and his followers.

173 Tindin's daughter, Rinda, died soon after giving birth to her last child, Bakak. Later Demong remarried. This time he married a Bukitan woman, named Lemia, from whom he had many children. These children afterwards all married women of their mother's race.

173 423 Demong was by now an aged man and knew that the time would soon come when he had to die, leaving all his children on their own. Being a man of foresight, he made a plan to safeguard both the interests of all the children by the first wife and those of the second wife. To carry this out he erected a stone at a

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place not far from the mouth of Awas, in upper Krian River. This erected stone served, through Demong's personal ruling, as a boundary for his children by the first wife and the other children by the second wife—that is, all the children begot by the first wife would own the old land lying from the Paku River and lower Krian as far as the erected stone only; and all the children begot by the second wife would own the new land lying from that stone towards the Julau and Rejang Rivers. However, the first group was allowed to pass beyond the stone; and second group was not allowed to turn back towards the old lands behind that stone.

This stone, which was erected by Demong a few hundred years ago, is still intact. And strange as it was, Demong's ruling about the division of land among his children is still followed up to the present generation. People from Paku and lower Krian have gone over to the Rejang; but not one from the Rejang has ever returned to that former land.

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After the death of Demong, all the children of his first wife, except Bakak, lived and multiplied in the Paku. Bakak, in his young days, wandered to Batang Ai, where he married and later died (of old age).

There were scores of notable Sea Dayak leaders who came to live in Layar, Padeh, Paku and Rimbas after the death of Tindin. They were Temegoh of Bangkit, Talap of Pasa, Duau of Luban, Gerijeh of Padeh, Patinggi Ngadan of Layar. Jenua of Pusa, Padang of Undai and some others. The names of all these leaders survive in songs and genealogies.

* * * * *

The migration to Krian was comparatively recent. It took place about 1800 A.D. by the Saribas Dayaks. Early in 1956 the collector of this data travelled to Kelaka, to find out from various people there the history of that river.

Linggi anak Nyanggau of Kemidan, Awik, Saratok, made the following statement:

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"It was because the Saribas District was over populated. Therefore all the leading Chiefs decided to ask some of the most reliable, brave warriors to lead new migrations to the Krian. During this time, Krian was still thickly populated by the Serus, who in those days had frequently attacked the Dayaks of Paku and Rimbas Rivers. The largest Seru village of that time was situated at Nanga Diso in the Awik River. Therefore, in order to get rid of the Serus as well as to effect the migration, the leading Dayak warriors made this large village of the Serus their target".

The first Sea Dayak migration to the lower Krian was led by Temenggong Tandok who built his commanding house at Nanga Melupa. How he obtained the rank of "Temenggong" is still unanswered; though many people believed that this honour was bestowed upon him by the Malay chief, Molana of Kalaka, who bestowed the rank of Orang Kaya on the two chiefs of Rimbas, Gun (Orang Kaya Mangku Bumi) and his brother Antau (Orang Kaya Linggang Negri) respectively.

At about this time one of the Paku chiefs, named Bayang, migrated with his followers to the upper Krian, was followed later by many others who joined him to drive out the Bukitans from the country. During the whole lifetime of Temenggong Tandok and Bayang, they were both unceasingly engaged in war with Serus and Bukitans, though the former resisted to the last.

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In about 1839 another migration was planned. This time it was decided that Sa and Entri were to explore the land in Awik river, a right hand branch of the Krian. They discovered that the land in question was very fertile and suitable for farming. They returned home; unfortunately soon after their arrival they both died. Due to this accident, the proposed migration was delayed until the mourning period was over.

Eventually, three years after the death of Sa and Entri, an eldest son of the former named Enchana (whose nickname was "Letan") led the proposed migration overland. Upon arriving at Krian River they built a number of boats for them to go up the Awik. On the way, while about to get into Awik River, they

On the way, while about to get into Awik River, they i heard an omen (*Jaloh Kanan*) bird shrieking from their right hand side. This omen, it was believed, indicated that they all would always be successful in both planting padi and in fighting their enemies. The future men of their tribe would always be lucky in their undertakings; but the average of their age would be shorter than that of the women's. The place where these people first settled was at Lubok Gamba.

About five years later two parties came out of the Saribas to migrate to the Sablak and Sabetan rivers in Krian. In the early years of their arrival in these two rivers, they both fought hard with the last Serus, who had been driven out of Awik and who now kept on opposing the permanent settlement of Dayak migration in those districts. Finally, after a long war, fought continuously between their opposing parties, the Serus surrendered and the victorious Sea Dayaks took their land.

After their defeat almost all the remaining Serus took refuge with the Malays and later adopted the Muslim religion. Today, though these live together in the same villages with the Malays, they still claim that they are of Seru origin, inspite of their cultural changes. Only one remains pagan.

* * * * *

The migration of the Sea Dayak to Entabai, Julau and other places in the Rejang took place around 1840-1850 from various places such as Delok, Lubang Baya, Lemanak, Skrang and Saribas.

There were many other later Dayak migrations, after 1850, sponsored by the Brookes, to other rivers in the Third Division, later spreading to the Fourth and Fifth Divisions just before, during and after the Second World war. The process continues....

i [A party of Iban. - Analyst]

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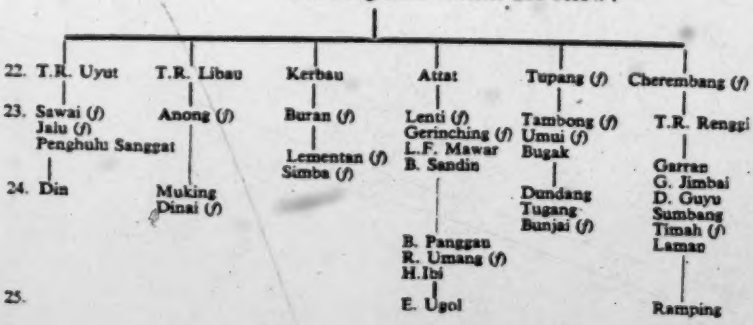
SPECIMEN GENEALOGIES

GENEALOGY I

This family tree descends from Sengalang Burong. It shows how long since the Sea Dayaks have already migrated into Sarawak from Indonesian Borneo.

1. Sengalang Burong	× Endu Sudan (*f*).....	Tinchin Temaga (*f*)
2. Tinchin Temaga (*f*)	× Menggin.....	Surong Gunting
3. Surong Gunting	× Surong Ngiang (*f*).....	Surong Kempat
4. Surong Kempat	× Ranjau (*f*).....	Ridoh (*f*)
5. Ridoh (*f*)	× Bada.....	Gupi (*f*)
6. Gupi (*f*)	× Grasi "Blang Pinggang".....	Geraman (Ensoh)
7. Geraman	× Tebari.....	Beragai (*f*)
8. Beragai (*f*)	× Chundau.....	Beti
9. Beti	× Duri (*f*).....	Pandak (*f*)
10. Pandak (*f*)	× Talak.....	Badas (*f*)
11. Badas (*f*)	× Girik.....	Blaki
12. Blaki	× Buang (*f*).....	Penyut
13. Penyut	× Endia (*f*).....	Sudan (*f*), Jering (*f*)
14. Sudan (*f*)	× Salang.....	Blaki, Jimbai, Kader
15. Blaki	× Bremas (*f*).....	Lada (*f*), Ugap, Bayang
16. Lada(*f*)	× Awan.....	Sawai (*f*),Jering (*f*)
17. Sawai (*f*)	× Kaya.....	Cheraring (*f*),Jantan, Lumpoh, Nyaru (*f*) Sian (*f*), Endayan (*f*)
18. Cheraring (*f*)	× Jiram "Rentap".....	Cherembang (*f*), Mawat, Laja, Mengga.
19. Cherembang (*f*)	× Adir "Bungkok".....	Anong (*f*), Tindin, Lui, Sawai (*f*), Dudut (*f*),Imar.
20. Anong (*f*)	× Linggir "Mali Lebu"....	Umang (*f*), Penghulu Kenyeh.
21. Umang (*f*)	× Penghulu Garran "Lembang Batu".....	See below:—



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Note:

1. Sengalang Burong was the greatest hero of the Sea Dayaks, the originator of various cults, such as the celebration of Bird Festival "*Gawai Burong*" and the strict observance of omens.

2. Menggin was Sengalang Burong's son-in-law, believed to have been living along the Kapuas basin before the migration of the Sea Dayak into Sarawak. He lived to very old age, died in the lifetime of his great-great-great-grand daughter Beragai. At the foot of Tiang Laju mountain there is a huge boulder known as "Batu Menggin", said to be Menggin's remains, miraculously turned into solid rock.

3. Surong Gunting was the son of Menggin and Dara Tinchin Temaga, who led the Sea Dayak migrations into Sarawak. He himself was a Chief who led his followers to live somewhere on the Tiang Laju range. Look at the map of Sarawak and you will find that one of Tiang Laju's peaks is called "Tangga Sarran"; this literally means "Sarran's Ladder". Sarran was one of Surong Gunting's followers.

15. Blaki was accidently killed by a party of the invading Serus while he was looking after his farm, then lying between the Paku and the Samu Rivers. His head, taken by the enemy, was afterwards discovered by his brothers, Jimbai and Kader, during their chase of the Serus to the upper Bong stream. After the discovery of the head they buried it under a huge tapang tree, "Tapang Blaki".

16. Awan was a famous ancestor, who came from Padeh to marry Lada (f) of Paku after the death of the latter's father, Blaki. Awan was the grandson of a famous Padeh Chief, Jantin ("Moa Hari").

18. Jiram, whose nickname was "Rentap" (not the later Rentap of Sadok), a very ambitious Saribas war leader who led his warriors to fight the Rejang, was defeated at Kanowit—where he and the majority of his troops were killed.

20. Linggir, whose nickname was "Mali Lebu" (literally means Socialist) was one of the most famous Sea Dayak Chiefs of Saribas, who with his followers fought Admiral (the then Captain) Keppel during the taking of Paku in 1843. In 1844 he paid his first visit to Sarawak, where he was presented by the Rajah with a spear and a flag of State. On his return, he was authorized to bring letters from the Rajah to the other Sea Dayak and Malay leaders of Saribas, viz: the Laksmana of Paku, Datu Patinggi, Datu Bandar, Lila Wangsa, Abang Mansor, Orang Kaya Pemancha Bayang and Bulan Patan of the upper Layar. On the 31st July, 1849, he *again* fought the Government forces at the famous battle of Beting

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Maro. Early in August of the same year Linggir and his warriors attacked the Rajah's advancing flotilla at Nanga Peka, where Tujang and Bunsi, the sons of Orang Kaya Temenggong of Lundu, were killed in an ambush. Linggir's other actions and friendliness towards the Europeans as well as his brother Native Chiefs had been referred to by the first and second Rajahs in their writings. He died in 1878 and was succeeded as Chief by his nephew and son-in-law Penghulu Garran, who died in 1901.

21. Penghulu Kenyeh was the successor of his cousin and brother-in-law, Penghulu Garran. He was the grandfather of the late Penghulu Andil of Paku.

22. T. R. Uyut was the eldest son of Penghulu Garran who (about 1894) went to Malaya to join the Police Force there to quell the trouble in the State of Pahang. Due to his meritorious service he was then awarded the flag of State, still kept by his son Lawrence Sanggat, present Penghulu of Paku.

23. Benedict Sandin is the principal collector of this data. Renggi is the present headman of the Tanjong longhouse, in succession to his uncle Uyut, who died in 1927. Of Renggi's two sons, George Jimbai is working in Iban section of Radio Sarawak, while David Guyu is with the Department of Geology, Kuching.

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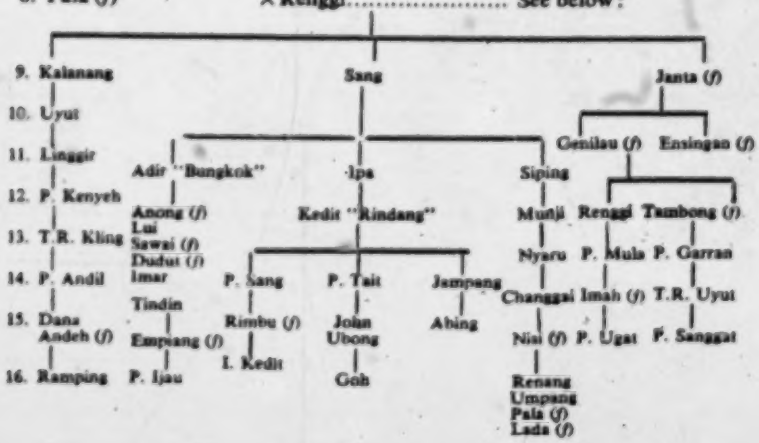
GENEALOGY II

This genealogical tree descends from Tindin to show how long ago the Sea Dayaks had migrated from Merakai to Tiang Laju, then to Skrang and finally to Paku in Saribas. 173 167

1. Tindin	× Tida (*f*).....	Rinda (*f*)
2. Rinda (*f*)	× Demong (Bukitan).....	Kelanang, Kelimbang, Bundak, Jawai (*f*), Bakak.
3. Kelanang	× Laus (*f*).....	Tuah
4. Tuah	× Sarong (*f*).....	Sing
5. Sing	× Lai (*f*).....	Busu
6. Busu	× Jering (*f*).....	Uyut "Badilang", Menging (*f*), Bremas (*f*), Rinda (*f*).
7. Uyut	× Nangku (*f*).....	Pala (*f*), Empari, Linggir, Entemang, Nisi (*f*), Sendai (*f*), Timah (*f*).
8. Pala (*f*)	× Renggi.....	See below:



Note:

1. Tindin, after the death of his father Chaong, led his people to build their longhouse at Lipat Cape in Skrang. Later he opposed the Bukitan Chief, Entingi, and then become very friendly, after the marriage of his daughter Rinda with Entingi's son Demong as mentioned at number 2 in the genealogy above and in the main text. After the death of Rinda he married a Bukitan woman named Lemia, who got him many children (see main text).

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3. Kelanang was eldest son of Demong, reportedly a very brave and influential Chief, who led his people to fight against the Serus in the old jungle of Paku.

6. Busu was another famous Chief, first to lead the Paku Dayaks to fell (for cultivation) all the trees along the Paku River, starting from Nanga Beduru right up to the mouth of River Anyut. His son, Uyut, married Nangku, daughter of another Chief, Sang of Anyut. After the death of his father-in-law, Uyut succeeded him, to lead his people and cut down all the jungle along the Anyut and its right and left tributaries. When he died, Uyut was buried at Nanga Bujut Cemetery in the upper Anyut.

8. Renggi came from Padeh to marry Pala, daughter of Uyut. Due to his outstanding diplomacy, he was appointed Chief after the death of his father-in-law, instead of any of his brothers-in-law.

10. Adir (nickname "Bungkok") was a very conservative but respectable Chief. He was not a man of war. He died of very old age, which caused him to be called "*Bungkok*" (literally means *bend*).

11. Kedit (nickname "Rindang") was a brave warrior under Linggir, who killed Bunsi the son of Orang Kaya Temenggong of Lundu in the Rajah's expedition against Paku in 1849. His sons Penghulus Sang and Tait were the valued servants of the second and third white Rajahs respectively.

12. Penghulu Mula was the successor of Penghulu Kedit of Paku Ulu, who died in 1903. His cousin, Penghulu Garran, was the successor of Linggir who died in 1901.

14. Penghulu Ugat was the predecessor of Sanggat, the present Penghulu of Paku. (cf. Genealogy I).

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GENEALOGY III

This genealogy descends from Temegoh, the first Sea Dayak leader to migrate to Bangkit, a right tributary of Paku, Saribas. Temegoh is said to have been a very grand chief with a big family of thirty persons including his slaves. The quotation in the Dayak songs in connection with him reads: *"Temegoh betuboh maioh tiga puloh ngaum pengurang"*.

1. Temegoh	× Reminda (*f*)	Sulang
2. Sulang	× Enduyan (*f*)	Rantai
3. Rantai	× Jintan (*f*)	Nani (*f*)
4. Nani (*f*)	× Nimong	Nanggar
5. Nanggar	× Lantak (*f*)	Gerijeh, Bangkam, Guroh, La.
6. Gerijeh	× Darun (*f*)	Nyeluai (*f*)
7. Nyeluai (*f*)	× Kelukut "Batu Galang"	Inai (*f*)
8. Inai (*f*)	× Ampi	Dass, Renyam (*f*)
9. Dass	× Embun (*f*)	Runya (*f*), Rinta (*f*), Dugong.
10. Runya (*f*)	× Musit	Gulang (*f*)
11. Gulang (*f*)	× Sumbang "Mata Hari"	Ibi, Lium, Ugol, Sian (*f*), Guroh.
12. Ibi	× Sarong (*f*)	See below:

13. Gadoh	Begri	Luat	Selaka (*f*)
14. Chundi	Lanjing (*f*)	Peter Sumbang	Evelyn Lemok
	Albert Dass	Johnson Sudok	
	Guang	Nara (*f*)	
15.	Rampai	Cherida (*f*)	Rosalind Umang
	Masing	Muja	Bertram Panggau
	Bilon	Penyut	Henry Ibi
			Edmund Ugol

Note:

6. Gerijeh was a Chief who fought with Senabong and his Sebuyaus, as a result of a *tapang* tree dispute between them in the Bangkit district, Paku. His brothers, Guroh, Bangkam and La, were all men of influence and also brave in war. His father Nanggar was one of the Saribas warleaders of his time.

11. Sumbang (nickname "Mata Hari", later changed to "Ngelingkong Nanga Sugai") was a brave warrior under Linggir. He killed many during Linggir's expeditions against Apai Siba's house at Sugai, in the upper Julau River, about 1839, and later during the expedition against Matu. He died in 1896.

12. Ibi was headman of the longhouse at Ijok, Bangkit. He died in 1936. His brothers Ugol and Guroh were both Sea Dayak war-leaders who played a leading part in quelling the rebellious Matsalleh in British North Borneo about the end of the last century.

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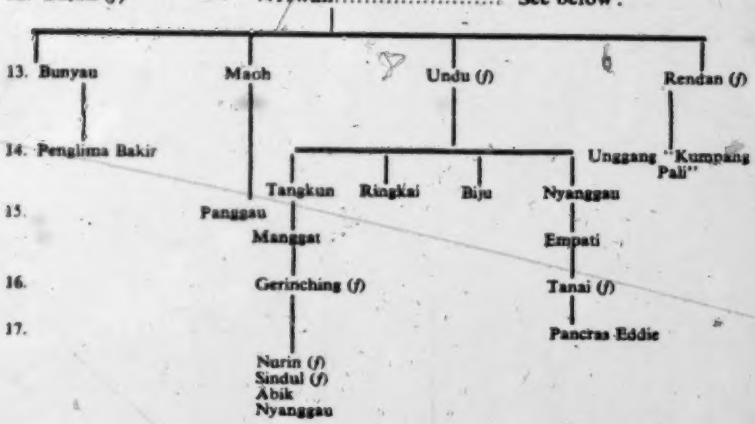
GENEALOGY IV

● 173 167 This genealogy descends from Sendi (f) of Sebuyau who married Guang of Skrang as related already in this history. Before he married Sendi, Guang was a widower due to the death of his wife Genilau, daughter of Basok and grand-daughter of Singka Nayan of Tapang Peraja on Batang Ai.

1. Sendi (*f*)	× Guang.....	Tida (*f*), Tair.
2. Tair	× Giam (*f*).....	Anchap
3. Anchap	× Judi (*f*).....	Rendan (*f*)
4. Rendan (*f*)	× Manggi.....	Tama
5. Tama	× Manyi (*f*).....	Krebau
6. Krebau	× Nisi (*f*).....	Ujor (*f*)
7. Ujor (*f*)	× Gendup.....	Mawar, Meling, Eddie, Ranti, Rinya (*f*).
8. Mawar	× Lena (*f*).....	Galau
9. Galau	× Chandu (*f*).....	Ladang (*f*), Imban.
10. Ladang (*f*)	× Bunyau.....	Unggang "Lebor Menoa".
11. Unggang	× Sangan (*f*).....	Mulok, Luta, Ketit, Selaka (*f*), Sulan (*f*).
12. Sulan (*f*)	× Awan.....	See below:



Note:

5. Manggi was a Chief mentioned fully in this account.

8. Mawar was a mighty war-leader who gladly consented to the marriage of his son Galau to Chandu, daughter of the Batang Ai Chief named Bau of Enteli.

11. Unggang (nickname "Lebor Menoa") was a mighty warleader of Saribas. It was claimed that due to his destructive invasion upon the inhabitants of the mouth of Sarawak River, this place today is known as "Muara Tebas" (mouth cut

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down). His sons Mulok, Luta and Ketit were all brave and adventurous men, who perished off the Datu Cape while trying to cross the China Sea in search of old jars overseas.

13. Both Bunyau and his cousin Maoh were well known for their bravery in time of war, as well as in administering their people's affairs.

14. Penglima Bakir was the chief of Lower Saribas. He went to invite Sir Charles Brooke—to come over and direct the construction of a Fort at Betong in 1858. Penglima Bakir and the people of Lower Saribas were in great enmity and rivalry with the Orang Kaya Pemancha Bayang and his sons. The latter had continuously fought the Sarawak Government till their ultimate fall at Sadok mountain in 1861. During those troubled days, in their anxiety for Bakir's head, the familiar saying of the Sadok women went as follows: "If you are a man, go to Betong fort and bring back to us the head of Bakir or that of Mr. Watson (Tuan Assan)". After the death of Bakir the chieftainship passed to his cousin Ringkai, who later was installed as Pengarah at Simanggang Fort in 1884. Ringkai was famous for his ability in dealing with native affairs. Besides, he was a member of Council Negri and said to be the outstanding Chief of his time. After his death in 1902 his younger brother, Penghulu Biju, was nominated to succeed him. Penghulu Biju was the Chief specially invited by the third Rajah to open the Brooke Memorial Statue at Pangkalan Batu, Kuching. On his retirement (on pension) he was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law Penghulu Empati.

17. Pancras Eddie is now working with Radio Sarawak, Kuching.

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GENEALOGY V

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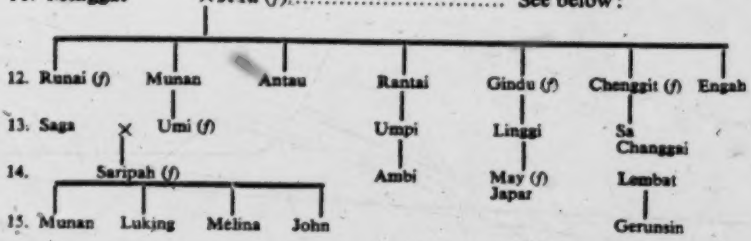
This descends from a Chief named Jelian who migrated from Merakai to Undup and had his longhouse built at Wong Tampangu. Jelian was the originator of the Sea Dayak custom of *Nungkun ka Dapor*. This old custom, that the kitchen of each family must not be allowed to grow cold—was common among the Sea Dayak.

1. Jelian	× Tiong (*f*)	Bredai (*f*)
2. Bredai (*f*)	× Braoh	Meradana
3. Meradana	× Selaka (*f*)	Mulu (*f*)
4. Mulu (*f*)	× Baling	Ugah
5. Ugah	× Tegang (*f*)	Rendong (*f*)
6. Rendong (*f*)	× Encharang	Selaka(*f*), Punai (*f*).
7. Punai (*f*)	× Ingging	Ganing, Nyangun.
8. Ganing	× Lamah (*f*)	Geliga
9. Geliga	× Kelang (*f*)	Sa "Lua"
10. Sa "Lua"	× Melaya (*f*)	Enchana "Letan", Menggin, Minggat, Gurang "Bulan", Gading (*f*), Dembu (*f*).
11. Minggat	× Jara (*f*)	See below:



Note:

8. Both Ganing and his brother Nyangun were leading warriors under the Chief Sang of Anyut.

10. Sa "Lua" was one of the two men who explored the Awik district in the Krian, to see the suitability of this land for migration. He died immediately after his return from this trip, was buried at Batu Anchau Cemetery in Paku.

11. Minggat was the leading warrior under Linggir of Paku. After his migration to Awik he became a famous warleader and rendered valuable service to Sarawak Government. He participated in attacking and eventually destroying Lang Nyindang's stronghold on the Stulak Hill at the upper Kanowit River. Later, during the Kedang Expedition in 1886, he was

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appointed by H. H. the Rajah (Sir Charles Brooke) as head of warriors. One of his well-known victories was his successful invasion of the Ensiring Dayaks in the Rejang. He died in Sumatra in 1891. 173 167

12. Munan was an eldest son of Minggat. He joined his father's party to sail to Sumatra and after his father's death he led back to Sarawak. He married Subang, the grand daughter of "Sadok" Rentap at Entabai. He led seven expeditions. His three famous victories were; first, an attack upon Jimbau's house in the upper Engkari; second, invasion of the Batang Ai Dayaks when his party came out from upper Kanowit unnoticed by the enemies; and third, an expedition against the Kayans in the upper Rejang, when he and his troop killed hundreds of enemies. Munan, due to his bravery, was appointed to become the Great Chief (Penghulu Dalam) of Sibu. He was also appointed member of the Council Negri. He was the head of the Sea Dayak representatives from Lower Rejang during the peace making ceremony with Bantin at Kapit in 1907. He died on December 14th, 1914, and was buried at Pulau Kretau, Sibu.

14. Gerunsin Lembat is the Assistant Principal, Rural Improvement School, Kanowit. He has helped much in Museum studies of the Dayaks and is the Curator's good friend.

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10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

GENEALOGY VI

173 167 This genealogy descends from Jelenggai to show how Patinggi Nyadan had already migrated into Sarawak from Sumatra, as mentioned briefly in this history already.

1. Jelenggai	× Bintang Banyak (*f*)	Selamuda
2. Selamuda	× Manis Muka (*f*)	Begri
3. Begri	× Seniya (*f*)	Busok "Tandok Raja".
4. Busok	× Singgau (*f*)	Mai
5. Ma.	× Jelawai (*f*)	Patinggi Gurang
6. Patinggi Gurang	× Pudai (*f*)	Patinggi Ngadan
7. Patinggi Ngadan	× Lementan (*f*)	Bata (*f*)
8. Bata (*f*)	× Sambang	Sang, Nasa (*f*), Inchoh (*f*).
9. Sang	× Selaka (*f*)	Lika (*f*), Nangku (*f*), Lanchang, Changgai.
10. Lika (*f*)	× Pengarah	Gelang (*f*)
11. Gelang (*f*)	× Luna	Ginyam (*f*)
12. Ginyam (*f*)	× Unggam	Malang
13. Malang	× Jumbu (*f*)	Chulo "Tarang"
14. Chulo "Tarang"	× Dinggu (*f*)	Dunkong (*f*) Lanjing (*f*) Tujoh
15. Lanjing (*f*)	× Ratih	Pengarah Undom
16. Pengarah Undom	× Ginyam (*f*)	Nasa (*f*)
17. Nasa (*f*)	× Penghulu Entigu	Ratih

Note:

1. Jelenggai was an ancestor who married Bintang Banyak, and was founder of the strict observance of the "Pleiades" (stars), so that the Sea Dayak farmers might look up to the sky and see the setting of the stars, in order to plant padi at the right time.

[187] 2. Selamuda married a *swine goddess*. He was the originator of the tradition of foretelling the unknown through reading a pig's liver.

3. Begri, son of Selamuda, and his wife Manis Muka the swine goddess, were left with the father when the mother miraculously turned back to be a sow again (cf. *S. M. J.*, 1951, pages 438—441).

7. Patinggi Ngadan was a Sumatran ancestor, said to have immigrated into Sarawak and lived in Saribas. On his arrival at the Ban stream he met Talap of Pasa, who was making a canoe on the river bank. Answering Patinggi Ngadan's question, Talap said that he would claim all the land that stretched upriver as far as the scraps of his wood went up with the tide. Hearing this, Patinggi Ngadan passed on upriver and as he reached Bangai the tide turned down and

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

so here he stopped. When he was about to make a fire, by crushing two pieces of stone together, at the bow of the boat, Ngadan accidently dropped one piece into the river. This stone was said to have turned into a huge rock, which even now can be seen on the right bank of Layar River, at a spot called Bangai. Ngadan was buried at Jaloh Cemetery on the right bank of Layar River, below the mouth of Dabok stream.

9. Sang was a Chief of Anyut Dayaks. He was the father-in-law of Uyut ("Badilang"), in Genealogy I.

10. Pengarah was a warrior who served under his father-in-law, Sang, to drive away the Serus in the Anyut.

14. Chulo ("Tarang") was a famous warrior under Linggir and later under Minggat. He rendered service to the Government of Sarawak, which led to his nomination as Penghulu in the upper Krian. During Linggir's war against Sugai, Tarang captured eight slaves; and when he was following the Orang Kaya Pemancha Bayang's expedition against Banting, he killed two enemies. He was one of the first Sea Dayak Chiefs to become *Christian*. He died in 1887.

16. Pengarah Undom of Nanga Grenjang, Krian, was one of Tarang's grandsons. He died approximately two years ago.

17. Penghulu Entigu of Nanga Grenjang was elected chief to succeed his father-in-law, and is the present Penghulu of the upper Krian.

* * *

195 166 554 [423] thereby achieved distinction for himself and secured land-rights for his descendants. Land was power, and latecomers had to make requests for land from the descendants of the pioneers. The climb to the position of aristocrat (raja berani, "brave and rich") had to commence 173 166 [551] with pioneering. The names of pioneers who opened up new territories are still remembered by their descendants,[13] as well as the feats they accomplished and their nom de guerre. In one account,

> "The first Ibans to move to Sarikei were led by Nuga (Who Cut Off The Rajand Tidal Bore) who settled at Sari'. When (Pengulu) Abas heard that Nuga was at Sari', he walked overland from Paku' to Selalang, and urged Nuga to cross the Rajang. 'We can't,' replied Nuga,' for the Beliun (Melanau), occupy that land, and we can't fight Tugau.' Nevertheless, at Abas' insistence, they crossed over and drove out the Melanaus, who scattered to Oya, Mukah, Balingian and Bintulu."[14]

The high degree of consonance between narratives related by informants in the Second and Third Divisions supports the credibility of

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[13] which tends to be confusing because of the plethora of names, but therein illustrates the abundance and independence of movements that took place. (Tuai Rumah Ampan, 23 October, 1970).

[539] [14] Text: Ke mula mula ia Iban datai di Sarikai, Nuga, ensumbar ia, Mantap Bena Pangka Pasang, ke diau di Sari. Ninga Nuga udah di Sari, Abas bedarat ari Paku ka Selalang, ngumbok Nuga ngelayang Batang Rajang. Batang Rajang enda ulih dipelanggang laban di-uan Beliun, ko Nuga, lalu kitai enda te-alah ka Tugau. Tang, diumbok Abas, saduai ngalah ka Beliun ka rari ngagai Oya, Mukah, Balingian enggau Bintulu.

173 the accounts.[15] For example, two lemambang (bards), one from Ravang
166 Assan, another from Song, independently supported the following accounts about famous pioneers to the Rejang:

> "Igoh apai Lamban came from the Ulu Layar to the Sarikei in search of new land. He had been a leading warrior... There was no quarrel in the Layar which forced him to migrate; he wanted to be a pioneer and to seek new lands (emphasis added).
>
> "At about the same time Mujah (Bush Raya) led the first migrations into the Ulu Julau, a branch of the Kanowit tributary of the Rejang. (Since other areas were already settled), Mujah kept on looking for new land, and thus came to Julau. Upon his arrival, he and his followers fought against the Rejangs, Tanjongs, Kanowits, Ukits and Lugats in many parts of the Rejang" (emphasis added)

4. Raiding and Headhunting

175 A fourth factor contributing either directly or indirectly to
166 the migrations was the high value of raiding and headhunting, practiced
221 by some but, it is important to note, not all, Ibans. Without imputing
[24] any causal relationship, those Ibans were shifting cultivators who practiced
[773] headhunting. The charter for headhunting was mythical in character, being contained in the instructions given by the spirit Puntang Raga to Serapoh: Ulit orang ke mati enda tau enda diketas enggau pala munsoh ("Mourning for the dead must be cut away with an enemy's head," Sandin 1962-12).

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[15] Particularly when they are quick to discredit one another whenever the opportunity arises.

592 Freeman wrote,

[621]

> ". . .The unbroken expanse of roof tends to conceal the fact that the Iban long-house is fundamentally a series of discrete entities: the independent family units of a competitive and egalitarian (sic) society."

554 Oriented to the independence and achievement of the individual, and to the autonomy of the bilik family, and practicing shifting cultivation with little if any surplus, the Ibans supported no per-[624] manent leaders. Leaders (tuai) who were recognized were of an ad hoc nature such as the war leader (tuai serang), who ratified their positions [622] by their performances. The tuai rumah adjudicated disputes because of his knowledge of the history of settlements in his area and of adat [173] ("customary law"). The orang tau tusut was consulted when marriages [538] were arranged because of his knowledge of genealogies; the lemambang [756] ("bard") for various gawai was the repository of lore; and the manang ("shaman") for his ability to handle physical and psychical illnesses. But these and other officiants were in no sense chiefs, nor did they enjoy any power beyond that afforded by the recognition of their constituents.

175 555 624 During the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the highest pangkat (status) that could be achieved by an Iban male was raja berani. A man could achieve recognition as raja berani only through a fortuitous combination of pioneering, successful farming,

175 the Ibans became oriented. Whereas the Ibans had supported no leaders
657 and acknowledged the leadership of individuals only on ad hoc occasions,
177
173 for example, the orang tau tusut (genealogist) for researching family
787 lines to determine the marriageability of a couple, or the tuai burong (augur) to discern the meaningful calls and flights of omen birds for events connected with the horitcultural season or pejalai, the Rajah
622 established a network of power ties with himself as the vertex. With encouraged or enforced sedentariness, Iban longhouse communities selected tuai rumah who adjudicated problems and land disputes internal to the
631 community. At a higher level were the pengulu (or penghulu), a position that was created by the Second Rajah and the title was first used in the investiture of the pengulu in Sibu.[11] The Iban Pengulu, the Malay tuah kampong, and the Chinese kang chew formed the second level in the hierarchical structure, as community leaders. At the third level was a diverse native service with a corps of Native Officers, composed largely but not exclusively of Malay aristocrats. Above them, at the fourth level, were the Residents, and, at the apex, the Rajah.

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[11] "At the Fort (Brooke) the Resident (Mr. Low) had assembled all the Dayak tuahs who were now to receive the title of 'pengulu'. The Fort was crowded and H.H. the Rajah then addressed the meeting. . .he hoped that the Dayak chiefs before him who had for so long supported the government would continue to do so, not only in their own houses, but by all acting in concert, and by doing this should any disaffection arise they themselves could suppress it in the land." (SG 212, 1 September, 1883)

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

of their migrations, encouragement of rubber planting, and establishment in the Land and Survey Department of an external authority to validate land tenure radically changed the social organization of the Ibans who responded to his Government, as they became sedentary and oriented to a cash economy. The practice of preserving lengthy genealogies for validating land holdings, typical of shifting cultivators, is virtually extinct among Sibu Ibans, for authority now is invested in the surat tanah ("land letter"). Although not all land in the District is held under permit or has been surveyed, yet there is none that can be described as unclaimed or undesignated on land maps.

7. Protector of Resources

The development of Sibu as a center for the administration of resources included the establishment of the Forest Department in 1919. The Department has responsibility for the constitution and administration of various categories of forests, for example, those that may be exploited by timber companies and those that may not be.

The florescence of the timber industry in the late 1940's and from the 1950's on, required overall supervision to insure against the indiscriminate felling of forests. Of concern to the Ibans were those forests that were important to them for the wood for their longhouses and the products that they collected for sale. The rapidly expanding timber operations struck fear among many Ibans that the forests and

612 Semantics aside, however, the very vagueness of the boundaries of the kindred is an important aspect of the web of social ties by which the Iban defines his relationships and negotiates his social roles. For, as we already have noted, this uncircumscribed network may be expanded or [173] contracted as necessary. In travelling to a new area, one of the first activities in which an Iban will engage is to define his relations vis-a-vis his hosts by tracing back his genealogy until a common tie- kinsman or friend, real or putative- is found. This is aptly described as "weaving the fishnet" (nyambong jala or betusut, to trace genealogies). For example, when I took an extended trip up the Mukah River with an Iban who had never been in the area, in each of the 18 longhouses which we visited, the Iban nyambong jala with the tuai rumah or some other senior member of the community, and in each house, he found some tie which served to provide a tie with members of the host community.

173 The interest in and emphasis on genealogies, which the Ibans sometimes can trace back more than thirty generations (cf. Sandin 1967:99-100), is supportive of Salisbury's hypothesis (1956) that genealogies of great depth tend to occur particularly in tribal groups whose history has been one of migration and predation. The keeping of such genealogies is a means for effective integration in a social system in which cultural ecological adaptation has placed a premium on the individual, and in which the system is comprised of widely ramifying units.

198 [585] [198] Genealogists (tukang tusut) were highly respected and important individuals in Iban society, and were called upon to trace out relationships between every couple at the time of their marriage. Few of the genealogists remain in this District, their role having given way to such institutions as schools and the Land and Survey Department.

C. Ceremonial Relationships and Fictional Kin-Ties

796 571 Encompassing the bilateral kindred and extending well beyond it is a set of ties built upon ceremonial relationships. These ties between both kinsmen and non-kinsmen allow for exploitation by all participants as they have need. The relationships are contractual arrangements which operate upon a strict principle of reciprocity between the individuals and groups involved.

796 The Iban gawai (ceremonies) cover all the major (and minor) events of moment to the Iban. It is possible to enumerate more than 60 such gawai, ranging from Sandau Hari, observed because of someone's dream, to Gawai Antu, held to commemorate the dead. The gawai require accumulation of vast amounts of food and drink, often much more than any single longhouse community can raise alone.

796 431 628 After a community has decided to hold a gawai, members of the host community visit those houses in which they have kinsmen and friends, and with whom they have entered into a ceremonial relationship. They inform their relatives and friends that the gawai will be held, and then ask for eggs (for smoking), chickens and pigs, and other foodstuffs. The relatives

773 The personal characteristics attributed to Keling are those ideals of the
996 Iban male. It is my opinion that, as no other character in Iban folklore,
867 Keling is the collective representation of the masculine ego-ideal. Every young Iban boy knows of Keling, who is aggressive, proud, resourceful, brave, independent, and the bearer of tremendous personal magic. His travels number as many as his story-tellers. Always in quest of adventure, he makes his way through difficult jungles, over flooded rivers, conquering human enemies and defeating the worst of evil spirits (antu). He recapitulates Iban history. He represents what every red-blooded Iban male should be.

Keling is never in want, his farms never fail. His accoutrements are the finest, his magic is all-powerful. Keling allows no obstacle to stand in his way. In one story, he fights and dispatches a dozen different antu, hosts of traditional enemies, and finally the entire army of the Rajah Laut (Malay King) in order to recover Kumang, his consort, who had been
● [173] spirited away. The story encapsulates much of the history of the Iban and the hostilities which have marked their relations with other ethnic groups over competition for land. Interspersed with other groups, competing in an environment in which subsistence has demanded individual and corporate resourcefullness and resiliency, the survival and increase of the Iban have produced the Keling myths and have depended on the inculcation of Keling-like traits in the lives of members.

183 That some men do not achieve the ideal of self-sufficiency scarcely
000 needs stating. We have seen that less than one-half of the bilik-families